1: Nadel E-5 (1934-1936) 1942
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Out of this large and varied income the king gave directly very little to the common weal: he 'financed' certain public works, the repair or the building of the city mosque, his own palace, and the town walls and gates. The work itself was organized by the members of the lower nobility and carried out by their slaves and serfs; the king contributed only food and drink for the labourers, and small presents for the men in charge of the work. From his income, but assisted by gifts from other members of the royal house, the *Etsu* also paid the annual tribute to the Emir of Gwandu, by which the kings of Bida recognized the sovereignty of that ancient centre of the Fulani Empire.[1] Finally, the king, equipped his army with horses and arms, and formed of his personal slaves the police force which had to keep order in markets and streets. But indirectly the king contributed very considerably to the economic life of the country. The court was the centre round which the economic and cultural life of the capital revolved. The splendour of the court life of Nupe, famous in Nigeria, meant work and income for thousands, incessant production in the workshops of the craftsmen, and rich business for the merchants. Beautifully built houses to live in; gorgeous gowns, horses, saddles, arms, to be given as presents to courtiers and members of the household; food and drink, music and dances, for the great feasts celebrated at court, these were (and still are) the daily needs of the royal household. Presents play an important part in the etiquette of Nupe kingdom: from a small bowl of kola-nuts to a silk gown or a horse range these expressions of the king's favour. And at the great Mohammedan festival of the year, the *Sallah* as it is called in Nigeria, every one of the hundreds of people who by the right of birth or status are entitled to the king's attention are honoured with a smaller or larger gift. To be left out means disgrace; and the sending of a present to a man with whom the *Etsu* was known to be on bad terms expresses conspicuously reconciliation and new favour.

Of the former sources of royal income only two have survived under modern conditions: profits from occasional trade, and the proceeds of the royal estates (materially reduced by the transformation of slave labour into labour on the métayer system, or even wage-labour; see p. 200). To this we have to add to-day the Emir's considerable salary. On the other hand, his expenses, too, have been greatly reduced: public works, the upkeep of a police force, even the building of the royal residence, now form items on the list of Native Administration expenditure. But all the current expenses, all those demanded by status and prestige, by the etiquette of the kingdom, and by the necessity of winning supporters for himself and his house, are still as much part of the unwritten obligations of an *Etsu* Nupe as they ever were.

A DAY OF COURT ROUTINE

Every morning the *Etsu* mounts his horse and, accompanied by members of his household and some of his officers of state, rides round

[1] In the first period of British rule this tribute consisted of 100 gowns worth £300, 200 gowns worth £125, and one silver sword worth £10.

1: Nadel E-5 (1934-1936) 1942
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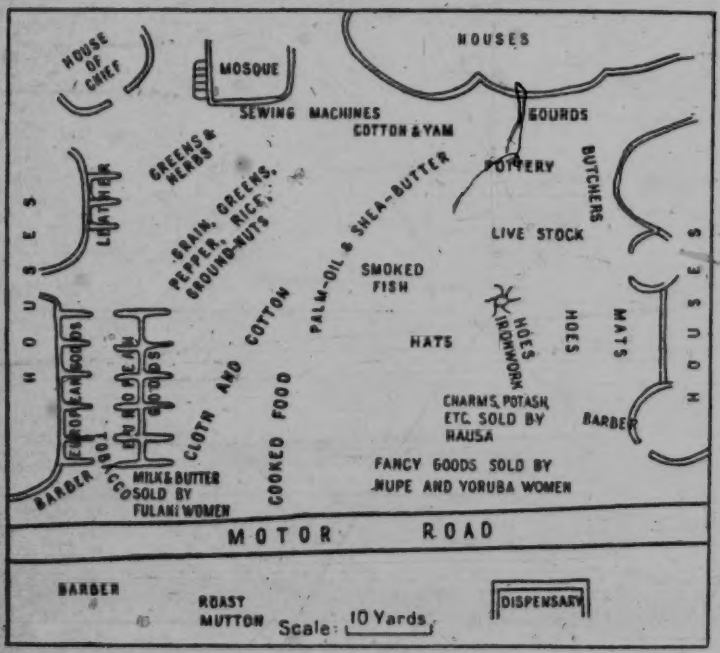
In one corner of the market barbers put up their open-air shop. In another corner butchers sell their goods, a drummer endlessly repeating the same rhythmical *motif*—the signal that the butchers have slaughtered that day—to attract the attention of the crowd.

SKETCH-MAP OF KUTIGI MARKET



Markets in the wider sense of the word, places for exchange and trade, grow spontaneously with the needs of the country. But markets of the kind just described, with permanent buildings, booths, and stalls, have to be built and laid out specially. Moreover, provision must be made to guarantee the protection of the large attendance, especially of the traders from other districts and countries. The element of planning is clearly visible. The villages which decide to have a market of this kind will go to work methodically; formerly, they appealed first, through the royal delegate in their district, to the king, who would designate some of his private slave police to take charge of the supervision of the market. In the Mohammedan and semi-Mohammedan villages a well-known Mallam would be summoned to consecrate the market and thus ensure its prosperity. This practice is said to be still in use. Certain markets become, in fact, known by the name of the Mallam who dedicated them.

A sketch-map will best illustrate the well-planned arrangement of a typical village market—the market of Kutigi, to which I have referred

1: Nadel E-5 (1934-1936) 1942
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I have described already at some length the markets of Bida so that there is little to add here. Bida possesses six markets, three main day markets close to the 3 royal houses, two small day markets—one near the west gate, one in the strangers' quarter—and one night market. In the distinction between day and night market the village distinction between the restricted trade on ordinary week-days and the extensive trade on market-days is in some respects repeated.[1] Multiply by ten the largest village market, and its attendance and the quantity and variety of goods displayed, and you have the Bida night market. Its average attendance has been estimated at 6,000, and as regards the goods which are bought and sold, I can only repeat that there is practically nothing that cannot be obtained there, from kola-nuts to beams for roofing, and from native-tanned goatskins to watches, scissors, or bicycle spare parts. Besides, there are scribes who will write letters for you, Yoruba money-changers (who charge a commission of one penny in the shilling), cooks who roast small pieces of mutton over the fire and sell the meat on wooden skewers to passers-by, drummers, barbers, tailors, loungers, not to forget the policeman who regulates the traffic and keeps watch (not always a sinecure) on disturbances of the peace.

In certain respects, however, marketing and trade in Bida differ essentially from their counterpart in the village. A first difference concerns the local distribution of marketing. Bida possesses, in addition to its four markets, also more or less regular shops which are open all day, such as the wayside shops in the street of the brass-smiths, where the womenfolk of brass- and silversmiths display the goods manufactured by the men, or the permanent shops in *lálemi*, the crowded strangers' quarter. Many traders, moreover, who will attend the night market keep during day-time little wayside stands on cross-roads or busy thoroughfares. The wide local distribution of shops corresponds to the typical demands of a large, decentralized town, in which the groups of potential customers are concentrated in widely scattered localities. At the same time it expresses a keener spirit of competition, and that doctrine of 'seeking out the customer' which is familiar to all more advanced systems of marketing. Two new stands which have only appeared during my stay in Bida will illustrate what I mean. One wayside shop established itself opposite the workshops of the Public Works Department, and its customers were the labourers, who would come out to buy food, sweets, and cigarettes; the other was installed close to the Bida Middle School, and catered for the occasional wants of schoolboys and teachers. In both cases two or three young women had joined forces and were keeping shop together. These wayside shops and stands do not pay rent; street corners and cross-roads are free to everyone; nor have any quarrels over claims to a particular spot arisen—as yet. But this is essentially a fluid process; and it is not unlikely that quarrels or litigation of this kind might arise in the future if competition becomes

[1] The day markets reflect the different needs of the large town as compared with the village markets. Firewood, for example, which is never seen on village markets as the women collect their own firewood on family farms, appears in large quantities on the day markets of Bida.